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HYKSOS:
THE PART THEY PLAYED
IN THE
HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST
WITH
SPECIAL RELATION TO PALESTINE

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B.A. Hastings College 1930
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface - - - - -	I - III
List of Abbreviations - - - - -	IV
Bibliography - - - - -	-V - VIII

CHAPTER I

Prolegomena - - - - -	1
-----------------------	---

CHAPTER II

Who Were the Hyksos - - - - -	9
-------------------------------	---

CHAPTER III

Pottery of the Hyksos Period - - - - -	35
--	----

CHAPTER IV

Scarabs - - - - -	53
-------------------	----

CHAPTER V

Egypt - - - - -	59
-----------------	----

CHAPTER VI

Effect of the Hyksos - - - - -	77
--------------------------------	----

I

P R E F A C E

Throughout the body of this thesis I shall speak at times of the Hyksos period as the "Dark Ages" of the ancient history of the Near East. I shall refer to it by that name because of the almost total lack of historical records of the time. If one were to rely on literary material alone he would indeed find it most difficult to write much about these kings. But as one enters the field at present he is not without material. And for this material we must give due credit to the archaeologists who have uncovered cities and camps and have recorded in detail, and whose catalogues frequently are accompanied with photos of the material they have found.

The uncovered cities and camps which these Hyksos people occupied, such as Tell el Yahudijeh and Heliopolis of Egypt, Megiddo, Beth Yerah, Tell el Fara and others in Palestine, and Kadesh, Homs, and Qatna in Syria, give us much information. There are the camp and city walls, the tombs and method of burial and the material which was placed with the corpse, the different types of pottery and their decorations, the scarabs, the statues, the temples and other cultural products such as war weapons and the like.

These products, if studied in their proper relationship, and by tracing them, wherever possible, to their origin, cover

almost all of the necessities and luxuries of the life of these people and help us to restore to a large extent the history and culture of the people.

The first chapter of this thesis contains in a very condensed and compact manner the history of the Near East from the fall of the Sumerian people to the coming of the Hyksos in the Delta. It is included in the work in the hope of giving the reader a proper background and a feeling of the general unrest and unsettled conditions of the countries, and the repeated contests for power between the seats of authority. It is also hoped that this will aid in understanding the psychology of the Egyptians since they had not taken a very active part in this affair, and that all the restlessness of the East did not greatly affect the land of the Nile.

The second chapter, entitled "Who were the Hyksos?" in reality serves a double purpose. The main motive of course, is that which the title indicates, but at the same time it serves indirectly the purpose of the title of the thesis.

This is being mentioned in the preface because of the fact that such parts as fortifications, horses and chariots, and weapons may play in the history, shall not be repeated because of lack of space and time.

I wish to acknowledge the fact that I have been unable to carry out in full the work as I had originally outlined. In this thesis I shall not undertake to write on either the Religion of

the Hyksos nor the great field which Josephus discussed, namely: "the Identity of the Exodus and the Expulsion of the Hyksos". Since these two fields are sufficiently extensive for separate theses it is my ambition and hope to do so in the future.

A second matter which needs a brief explanation is the matter concerning dates. In the second chapter it will be noted that some dates vary as widely as two or even three centuries and that I have used them in my arguments for a single and certain date. This is possible and can be consistent only when we recognize that there is a period in dating our historical events of about five thousand years ago, the dates of which must be fixed by the criteria of cultural products, -one or even two hundred years either way of the actual but unknown date, is relatively accurate and may therefore justly and consistently be used as an argument.

It is indeed an involved and composite task at times to see one's way through and out of the darkness concerning some events. But all in all the work is fascinating and immensely interesting as well as helpful.

List of abbreviations.

Al-A.r.B.	Albright "Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible".
Ba-A.B.	Barton "Archaeology and the Bible."
Ba-H.A.Eg.	Breasted "A History of Ancient Egypt".
D-D.B.H.	Duncan "Digging up Biblical History".
H-A.H.H.H.	Hall "Ancient History of the Near East".
H-S.	" " "Scarabs".
J.E.A.	"Journal of Egyptian Archaeology".
J.P.O.S.	Journal of the Palestinian Oriental Society.
J.S.O.R.	Journal of the Society of Oriental Research.
N-S	Newberry "Scarabs".
O-H.S.S.	Olmstead "History of Palestine and Syria".
P-BP	Petrie "Beth-Pelet".
P-H.I.C.	Petrie "Hyksos and Israelite Cities".
P.E.F.Q.S.	Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.
. . .	Sellin & Watzinger, "Jericho."

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CHAPTER I

PROLEGOMENA

"Curiosity is the beginning of wisdom, and the most modern and most scientific spirit is merely curiosity plus the application of a proper method to satisfy it."

The history of the Near East in ancient times is extremely important and interesting to all students of the history of man and his development; also to students of religion as well as to many people who are interested in the origin of the folk-lore and traditions so vividly illustrated in the Bible.

The land of the abode of these ancient people, from which developed our civilization and religion, was indeed very small if one compares it with the larger nations of today. It is "that portion of the world of which Greece marks the western and Persia the eastern boundary, of which the southern border marches with the lands of the Blacks and the northern is formed by the steppes and deserts of the Scythians and Cimmerians."¹

Students, interested in this part of the world, are stimulated by the very fact that it still offers many opportunities for adventure and research work. The historical records, such as have been dug out of oblivion by archaeologists, are intensely interesting and important, and are almost annually revealing more of the social and political conditions of the time.

¹ H-An.H.N.E.p;2

Another factor which attracts students to the study of this ancient world is the fact that from these early people sprang the small group of Hebrew people who have given to the world the most fascinating literature which is full of folk-lore, traditions, songs, war campaigns, and character sketches of individuals. And finally, which increases the interest, from these Hebrews rose the great historical figure and founder of the ever growing Christian religion.

Through the aid of excavations we are now able to trace to a large extent the history of culture to the Neolithic man, and in some instances even back to the Palaeolithic man, both on the shores of the Nile and the Mediterranean coast.

The Tigris-Euphrates valley does not produce evidence of such remote people. This, however, it is believed, is not because the alluvial valley was not inhabited by Palaeolithic and Neolithic man, but because the natural forces, such as annual prolonged floods, have destroyed all remains of their abode. It was not until the coming of the Sumerians that a practice of building cities on slight elevations began. And it is from the resulting mounds that excavators bring forth the evidence of the early inhabitants.

Time and space will not allow a detailed discussion of these people. Suffice it to say that they lived in a comparatively remote period; that they built temples to their gods and houses for themselves out of burnt and unburnt bricks; that they

which blocked his path to securely organizing and maintaining his extensive kingdom was the pressure of the Semites in the land. His reign came to a sudden end after twenty-seven years, when Sargon I rose out of Kish, an old and strong rival city, to challenge his authority. Sargon's victory resulted in the founding of a new Dynasty which was to rule for nearly two centuries. In character it was distinctly Semitic as is indicated by the use of the Akkadian and official language on a royal inscription.

During the long rule of the Ur dynasty which followed Sargon's, peace and prosperity prevailed. The Semites, ever increasing their influence, made their presence felt in Elam to the extent that the rulers there used the Akkadian rather than their own language for official inscriptions. During the struggle for supremacy between the Elamites and the dynasty of Ur, which had moved its seat to Isin and had taken on that name, the Amorites or Semites were able to force their way down from the north and establish their first dynasty in Babylon, dating toward the very close of the third millennium B.C. The establishment of this dynasty closed forever the doors to the Sumerian domination of the Euphrates valley and opened the gates for the spread of Semitic power and influence which was to leave its effect on all future western civilizations.

A new epoch was now to begin. The Amorites had migrated from their original dwelling somewhere in the Arabian desert, had fought their way across the hills and through the gorges of the Mediterranean coast lands and across Syria to the "Upper Euphrates" Valley or Akkad, from whence they came to conquer

Isin in the south. With the establishment of their rule the seat of power was moved to Babylon in the north. This city, hitherto of little importance, remained the capitol in the east country through a long period of unsettled history. Invasions and changes of Dynasties occurred but the center of power remained at Babylon.

This First Dynasty of Babylon printed its everlasting marks on the pages of history through its great king Hammurabi, the sixth king on the list, who crowned his supremacy with the codification of the great "Code of Laws" which was inscribed in rock in the vernacular tongue and erected in the cities for the people to read. He united the north and south and even followed his early predecessor Lugal-zaggisi to the "West land". Peace prevailed within the empire and trade and commerce increased. An interesting little inscription belonging to this dynasty relates the details in a contract for leasing a wagon for a year. It states the price the renter is to pay and the deposit which he must make and then specifies that "unto the land of Kittim he shall not drive it". Barton had identified the word "Kittim" with the Hebrew word used by Jeremiah and Ezekiel for the west coast lands. If we interpret this word as meaning the coast lands of Palestine and Syria we readily see that trade and travel between Babylonia and the coast must have been a common thing. So common indeed that an owner could not lease a wagon for a year without risking its being driven over the rough and dangerous roads to the Mediterranean coast.

Hammurabi's son and successor Samsu-iluna lacked the ability of organizing. He was far more interested in the affairs of the temple and the gods than in military expeditions. His reign, however, was not wanting in internal disturbances nor invasions. From the west slopes of the Persian mountains came the "Kassite hordes",--a barbaric people who were quick to observe the wealth and advantages in the valley. To the south and near at hand were the determined and powerful "Sea Landers", of whom we know little. They were, however, able to throw off the burden of the Babylonian king and establish their own king at Larsa. This greatly weakened the empire, a condition which is always most heartily welcomed by invaders. It was a people known to us as the Hittites who gladly welcomed the weakness and who were prepared to swoop down upon the city. They came from the northwest from the region of the Taurus mountains. They were not desirous of power nor of territory. They entered the city and robbed it of all its wealth, which was immense, and returned to their homes.

The end of the First Babylonian Dynasty (c.1926 B.C.) brings us to a period of obscurity. The Babylonian empire came to an end. The "Kings of the Sea Lands" do not appear to have had the north under their rule. They did, however, maintain their power in the south since they were in conflict with the Kassites when they established their power in Babylon in 1750.

This period of darkness is not confined to Babylonia or the East. It is coincident with that period in which there was a vast migration of peoples westward. It most likely began with

the Amorites who had to settle in the valley. Subsequently, another tribe of Aryans entered the valley farther north. This caused considerable displacement of people which, according to archaeological evidence, took place in the Nile valley, Palestine, and Egypt. In Syria, the strongly fortified cities were destroyed. Palestine increased in population and there also was a decided shift of settlements, to the north of the Jordan. Egypt, which had fallen into a state of degradation through the loss of a central power and through strife between lords fighting for the crown, fell victim to invaders known to us as the Hyksos or the "Shepherd Kings" but who have as yet not been identified.

During this period of migration must also be assigned the movement of the Canaanites. Neither the original home nor the identity of these people can as yet be proved. It is beyond doubt that they belong to the Semites and some scholars even believe that they were merely an aftermath of the Amorites. The name "Canaan" or "Canaanite" frequently occurs in early inscriptions but the usage of the term is not clear. We cannot say whether the name was applied to the people or to the land to which they came. "The earliest usage in the el-Amarna tablets and the Egyptian inscriptions of the XIXth Dynasty seem to confine the term to the low lands of the coast". Various opinions have been proposed only to be proven incorrect by a later scholar. One thing is sure: the Canaanites settled in great numbers in the "Promised land" so that the Hebrews were faced with a long and

continuous struggle and were unable to avoid their contact and influence. Indeed the later, and usually accepted, records concerning the "Conquest of Canaan" may not convey that idea but Isaiah (19:28) clearly states that they are using the "Canaanite" language.

Thus far only an attempt to state a brief and rapid survey of the displacement of powers and peoples in the east has been undertaken. Nothing has been said of the great Semitic migrations from the Arabian Desert, of which the Amorite movement was second, and their power and influence in Asia Minor. Egypt has been left out of the picture entirely because she on the whole was a peaceful nation in relation to her neighbors. She had no desire to gain more territory outside the Nile Valley nor was she greatly molested by invaders till the coming of the Hyksos who seized the power and brought the Valley people to submission.

These invaders, the Hyksos, are but vaguely known. They present many difficult problems because they have left little information concerning themselves, and even part of that has been destroyed by the Egyptians who hated them as rulers.

The most difficult problems concerning the kings are: When did they live? Who were they? Where did they come from? Were they a cultured or barbaric people? What influence did they have on the Egyptians and their neighbors, especially Palestine?

We must now turn our attention to the finding of a reasonable and, if possible, logical solution of the question before us.

CHAPTER II

WHO WERE THE HYKSOS

"Wisdom shall be a reward to him
Who earnestly seeks after truth."

The problem which the title of this chapter introduces has for many years arrested the attention of scholars. We speak of the "Dark Ages" of medieval history as a period of intellectual stagnation, but we may justly term the period in which the Hyksos lived as the "Dark Ages" of ancient history, not because of intellectual stagnation but because of lack of historical information concerning them.

This period was indeed not without happenings, the records of which would greatly enlighten us. In Egypt, where these kings seized the power, there prevailed such a hatred and dislike of them, that when the Egyptians were finally able to expel the Hyksos from the land, they were not satisfied to pursue and even attempt to exterminate them from history, but they destroyed as far as possible all evidence of their abode as an act of hatred and revenge. This act of destruction was apparently not limited to the boundaries of the Delta but was carried out with wonderful success in Palestine and Syria.

This naturally indicates that our written material concerning these strangers is extremely limited. And at this point it will be necessary to mention in full the two main traditions.

Every attempt to establish the identity of the Hyksos demands a thorough consideration of the Manetho writing, which, in part, was preserved for us through the great Jewish historian Josephus. Manetho was a learned priest and annalist of the third century B.C. and a native of the Delta. Only fragments of his extensive writings remain, one of which concerns itself with these rulers. Thus he writes:

"There was a king of ours whose name was Timaus. Under him it came to pass I know not how, that God was perverse to us, and there came, after surprising manner, men of ignoble birth out of the eastern part, and had boldness enough to make an expedition into our country, and with ease subdued it with force, yet without our hazarding a battle with them. So when they had gotten those that govern over us under their power, they afterwards burnt down our cities, and demolished the temple of our gods, and used all the inhabitants after their barbarous manner; nay, some they slew and led their children and wives into slavery. At length they made one of themselves king whose name was Salatis: he also lived at Memphis, and made both the upper and lower regions pay tribute and left garrisons in the places that were most proper for them. He chiefly aimed to secure the eastern parts, as foreseeing that the Assyrians, who were then the greatest power, would be serious to that kingdom, and invade them; and as he formed in the Saite Nomos a city very proper for his purpose, and which lay upon the Bubastic channel, but with regard to a certain theological notion was called Avaris: this he rebuilt, and made very strong by the walls which he built around it, and by a most numerous garrison of two-hundred and forty thousand armed men which he put into it to keep it.....And these six were the first rulers among them, who were all along making war with the Egyptians, and were very desirous gradually to destroy them to the very roots. This whole nation was called Hyksos, that is, Shepherd Kings; for the first syllable HY, according to the sacred dialect, denotes a king, as is SOS a shepherd; but this according to the ordinary dialect and of these is compounded HYKSOS: but some say that these people were Arabians....These people whom we have before named kings and called shepherds also, and their descendants, kept possession of Egypt five hundred and eleven years. After these, the kings of Thebais and of the other parts of Egypt, made an insurrection against the shepherds and that the terrible and long war was made between them." 1

The second tradition dated from the second century of Egypt's liberty. It contains a few lines from a dedicatorial address delivered by queen Hatshepsut at the restoration of a temple which the Hyksos had apparently destroyed. To her eager people she cried out:

"Hear ye, all persons, ye people as many as ye are! I have done this according to the design of my heart....I have restored that which was ruined, I have raised up that which was unfinished since those Asiatics were in the midst of Avaris, in the north land, and the barbarians were in the midst of them, overthrowing that which was made, while they ruled in ignorance of Ra."²

HYKSOS IN EGYPT

Our first interest and inquiry logically concerns itself with the time of these people. Many similar questions might easily be asked but we must at present confine our search for a reasonable answer to these two.

Early Egyptian chronology is almost wholly dependent upon the "Sothic Calendar". At a very early date, possibly as early as 4261 B.C., Egyptian astrologers had observed that the Sothic star made its first appearance on the horizon on the day of the rising of the Nile. They instituted a calendar year beginning in July, the date of the Inundation and the appearance of the star--consisting of 365 days, divided into twelve months with

thirty days each, with an interval of five days at the end of the year. They had, however, not yet learned of the extra day, our leap-year day, every four years. The lack of this knowledge naturally changed the new year day one day backward each four years. In time (1460 years) the new year's day had fallen on every day of the year, or had made a complete cycle. To support this method of dating, we know that such a cycle began in our era A.D.139. Dating back from this date the preceeding cycle began 1460 years earlier, or 1321 B.C., a third cycle began in 2781, and the fourth began in 4241 B.C. And it must have been on either of the last two dates that the calendar was instituted.³

On this calendar depends most of the dating of Egyptian history until the establishment of the XVIIIth Dynasty, after which date we find sufficient records and monument inscriptions to allow us to ascertain with comparative accuracy later dates and also the beginning of that Dynasty.

The calculations by means of these records and inscriptions fix the year 1580 B.C. as the approximate date when Ahmose I, the founder of the XVIIIth Dynasty, succeeded in expelling the Hyksos from the Delta. This then gives us a fixed date for the closing of the period.

According to Manetho, these kings ruled in Egypt for five hundred and eleven years. But in all probability this is somewhat of an exaggeration. It is well known that the Hyksos came

³ for detailed discussion see Cam.Am.E. vol.I, p.168

into the Delta shortly after the establishment of the XIIIth Dynasty. And we find that a certain compiler of king-lists completely ignored the period by placing the names of the kings of the XVIIth Dynasty immediately after those of the XIIth Dynasty, which would indicate that the period was not of great duration.

If our "Sotic calendar" were dependable, we would be able to date with certainty the duration of the XIIth Dynasty. According to this calculation the year c.1876 B.C. is the seventh year of the reign of king Sesostri III of that Dynasty. He himself ruled thirty seven years and his three successors Amenemhet III and IV and queen Sebeknefrure reigned respectively forty eight, nine, and four years. This would make the closing year of this power 1788 B.C.--a date which is generally accepted. This, however, would leave a period of less than two centuries for the Hyksos and the XIIIth Dynasty, a period which is quite out of harmony with tradition. But as has been stated above the traditional date of five hundred and eleven years must be taken as an exaggeration because if 1580 were accepted as the closing date of the period, five hundred years earlier would take us to the twenty first century or contemporaneous with the great Eastern king Hammurabi. Since Manetho wrote about ten centuries after the event we must remember that he could easily be misinformed. Furthermore, we cannot be too sure of the accuracy of the Sotic dates since it is possible, as H.R.Hall suggests, that a change of calendar might have taken place of

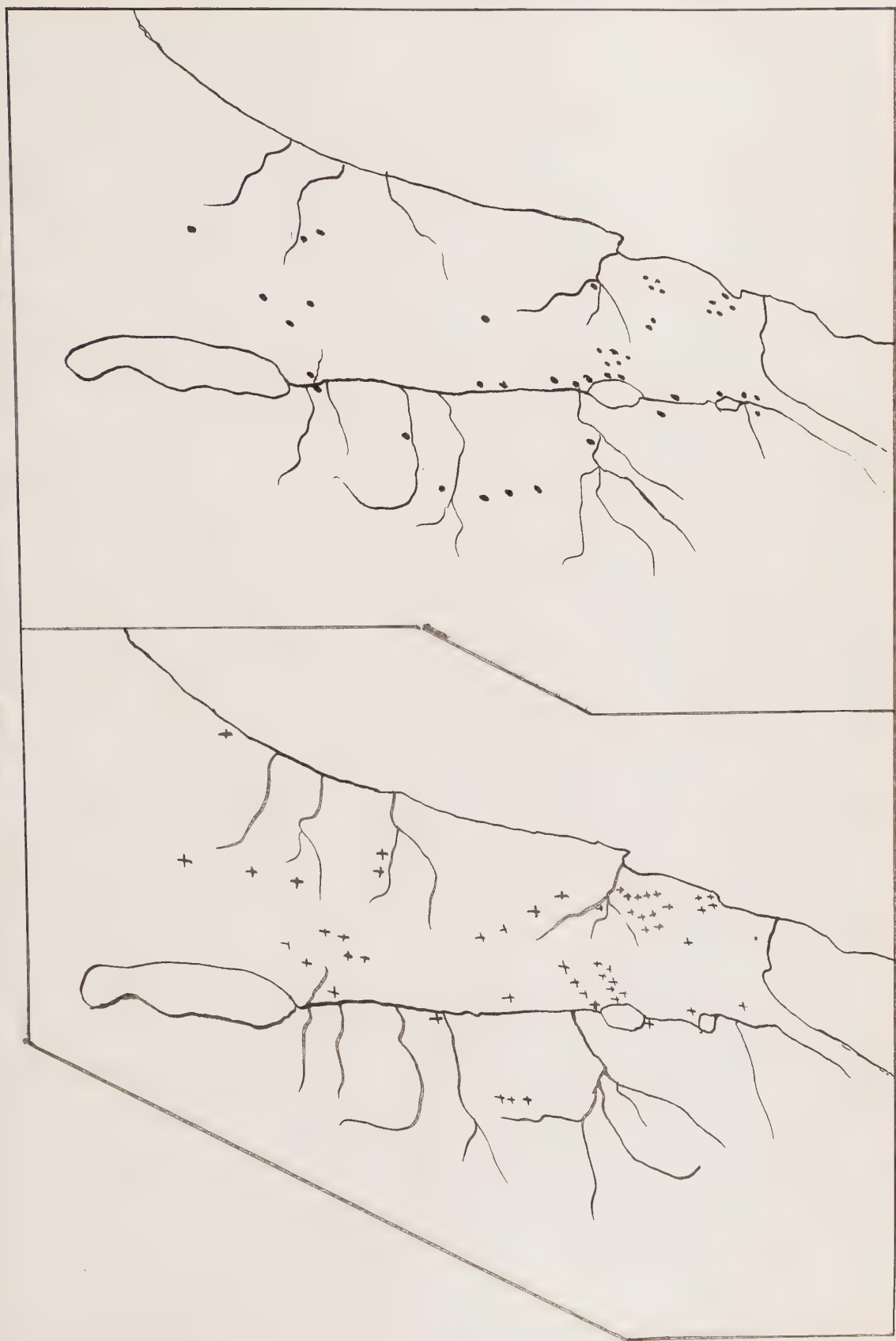
which we as yet know nothing. Although two hundred years is a rather limited period for the Fifteenth and the two Hyksos Dynasties, the dates 1788 to 1580 B.C. harmonize best with our present knowledge.

Another fact, which shall be dealt with in more detail in chapter five is Egypt's trade with the outside world, especially Crete. Excavations have revealed on this island that there existed an extensive trade between the two countries and that about 1700 B.C. a sudden interruption occurred in Egypt because Crete directed her trade to Cyprus. This interruption of trade is a significant fact because it would seem that only the Hyksos invasion could account for this.

HYKSOS IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE

Closing our inquiry in answer to the question before us, "When did the Hyksos first appear on the scene?" by limiting our discussion to the boundaries of Egypt would be answering the question only in part.

We learn from an early hieratic papyrus of the middle kingdom of the interesting story of "Sinuhe". It records the events of a young man who in his youth lived in the courts of Egypt and was a "servant of the royal harum waiting on the princesses and greatly praised". He became a soldier under the command of prince Sesostria in the west Delta fighting against the Lybians. Report came to the prince that the king "went to heaven". Sesos-



his failed to report the message to the camp. He secretly hurried to the palace in order to establish himself firmly on the throne without competition. Sinuhe, the young soldier, heard about the message and the prince's secret plans. Hereupon he decided it best for him to flee from the country, the reason for which act is wanting. In his flight he came to Palestine to the "Walls of the ruler" which were built to keep out the Bedouin. He evaded the guard and came inside. Here he was recognized by a chief who had traveled in Egypt. He was welcomed with water and boiled milk. He accompanied the tribe and in time passed from one to another till he reached the district about Damascus. About two years later a chief from "Upper Tenu" hearing of his fame, invited him to come and live with him and his Egyptian speaking people. He was given the eldest daughter in marriage and the rest of the chief's children were placed under his care. (Compare Moses and his flight, and marriage with the Midian Priest's daughter, Ex. II). After being allowed to take his choice of all the chief's land, wealth in grain, fruit, oil, and herds were bestowed on him. He became a leading and popular sheik so that all travelers stopped to visit him. He was hospitable to all and helped the robbed and needy on their way. "When the Bedouin began to wax bold, and to withstand the chieftains of the lands, I counselled their movements."⁴ The course of this story is an interesting parallel to the Biblical David and Goliath.

4 E-Lit.Am.Eg.p.14

5 I Sam.1:7

This gives us a definite reference to these "Barbarians" in Syria and Palestine during the first century of the second millennium B.C. Written material concerning their abode here is wanting as is the case with Egypt. Fortunately archaeology has come to the rescue and has confirmed the view that these two countries fell into the hands of a barbaric people about 2660 B.C.

Jirku has recently called our attention to the fact that there was a great shift of people in Syria and Palestine as well as an increase in population about 2000 B.C. He contends that settlements prior to this time were most closely along the Mediterranean coast from mount Carmel north; along the Jordan from above Lake Semechonites, near later Caesarea-Philippi; most thickly on the west shore of the Sea of Galilee; several settlements on the Trans Jordan lands; and along a line from Jerusalem to Gaza. (fig.1) About 2000 B.C. there was a decided shift. Many sites along the Mediterranean coast, the upper Jordan, and the west shore of the Sea of Galilee were abandoned. Many new cities were founded, scattered about on the fertile plains of Esdraelon and along a line from mount Carmel to Jerusalem. Trans Jordan lands retained only a few settlements while numerous new ones were founded along a line from Jericho, Jerusalem, and Gaza.(fig.2)

This fact is becoming more and more evident as excavations are being carried on. One such place which has revealed evidence is this is Tell el Hesi, a city located about sixteen miles east and north of Gaza. The Tell contains at least from five to eight cities, one built upon the ruins of the previous one. Because of

the many cities, Bliss, who excavated the site in 1899, called it the "Mound of many Cities". The oldest city which was built on bedrock, was founded, it was estimated, decidedly before 1700 B.C. It was probably one of those new settlements which arose in that vicinity, which Jirku thinks were built about 2000 B.C.

Another and similar mound is Tell es-Safi, probably ancient Gath, about twenty miles south and a little west of Jerusalem. Thorough work was not permitted here because of the Mohammedan Cemetery and Friedhof which were not allowed to be disturbed. Trenches however, were sunk, which revealed at least five distinct strata, the Crusaders; the Seleucid period, c.312-365; the Jewish period 700-350; and two pre-Israelite periods, the oldest of which dates prior to the sixteenth century B.C.

Many other similar mounds could be named but time and space will not allow. For further evidence of this invasion we shall now give a few illustrations of cities which were destroyed by these conquerors and probably rebuilt by them.

One such site which revealed this was Gezer which was excavated under the direction of Macalister. This city, situated on the Maritime plains on the early Philistine border, was founded in very early times. The series of strata reveal successive periods of occupation from the Neolithic age to the Maccabees and have produced ample pottery and structures illustrative of the corresponding cultures. A change of culture, concludes Macalister, took place contemporary with the fall of the XIth

dynasty of Egypt, which shows that Gezer fell into the hands of invaders. Macalister does not suggest that these invaders might have been the Hyskos, who soon after this date entered the Delta, he merely says that Gezer fell into the hands of another Semitic people. But it is possible that they were the Hyskos on their way into Egypt conquering the cities as they went. That they did this, is evident from the parenthetical phrase in Biblical tradition "Now Hebron was built seven years before G⁶oan in Egypt".

Jericho may be given as another illustration. Because of the uncompleted work under the direction of Garstang and the relatively small amount of work that has been done in the town itself, the stratification is as yet not clear. But the frequent use of trenches have revealed that Jericho, like Gezer, was occupied from the earliest times. So far, four distinct periods of occupation during the Bronze Age have been discerned. These periods are determined by the change in position and structure of the city walls with corresponding changes in the leading types of pottery and other cultural products.

The earliest city wall of the Early Bronze Age, dating before 2000 B.C., was just over four feet thick and constructed of unbaked slab-brick separated by layers of mortar. The next oldest, the wall of the Middle Bronze Age I, enclosing about eight acres, was about nine and two-thirds feet thick but made of somewhat smaller, but dried bricks, laid on a good, rough field-rock foundation from two to four layers deep. The third

is the Middle Bronze Age II and Hyksos city wall. Its corresponding strata have produced ample pottery to prove that the Hyksos at this time occupied the city.

Because of the unfinished work, it is at present impossible to date with certainty the destruction of the Middle Bronze Age I wall and the building of the Hyksos wall. According to Garstang's present and tentative classification the latter period began about 1800 B.C., which would tend to show that the invaders destroyed the city and rebuilt it. Sellin and Watzinger, who directed some work on the same mound in 1907 and 1908, definitely concluded "das also wissen wir jetzt mit Sicherheit, dass hier am Ende des dritten oder Anfang des zweiten Jahrtausends schon einmal eine radikale Zerstörung der Befestigung und eine Umgestaltung des ganzen Stadtbildes durch eine neue, die sich nach Norden hin nicht so weit ausdehnte wie die alte, stattgefunden haben muss."

In spite of the uncertainty and discrepancy concerning the date of this city, one thing is sure: Jericho fell into the hands of the invaders who rushed into Syria and Palestine about 2000 B.C.

Other cities of ancient importance might be mentioned. Megiddo, a city located at the eastern gate of the Plain of Esdraelon and controlling the same; Beth-zan to the south of the Sea of Galilee and at the entrance of the Jordan Valley commanding it; Beth Yerah, "The House of the Moon", located on the most important spot, the exit of the Jordan from the Sea of Galilee where later the "Bridge of Assembly" was to cross, commanded the

Jordan ford and the main highway from the west to the east. It never rose from its ashes. These show similar results.

These examples which have been related of course do not produce sound and absolute proof that the Hyksos were responsible for the founding and the destruction of these cities. They (and many others might easily be cited if space would permit) do clearly show that there was an irruption which must be responsible for the destruction and founding of these cities, and that this event took place in the neighborhood of the opening of the third millennium B.C. And, since there is abundant evidence of Hyksos occupation of the excavated mounds and since evidence tends to direct us toward this particular "Dark Age", we are inclined to draw the conclusion that the Hyksos people are the invaders.

HYKSOB FORTIFICATIONS

Petrie's excavation of Tell el Yahudiyeh has produced striking results. The tell is located about twenty miles north of Cairo, overlooking, and in early times guarding, the main highway from Africa to Asia. From its location alone one would be tempted to designate it as Avaris, the Hyksos seat of power. This designation has been strongly affirmed by archaeological evidence. Petrie found there a square fortified camp, fully five hundred yards to the side. The walls or embankments were constructed of loose sand retained by sun-dried bricks on the inside and the

outside slope was protected by a glacis and stucco. The base varied in width from forty-five to sixty-five yards with an upward slope from twenty-five to fifty-five degrees. It was about twenty-five feet in height. The entire structure contained no signs of a gate. A gradually rising causeway, about two hundred feet long and thirty five feet wide, was the only evidence of an entrance.

In and around the camp were found many scarabs bearing the name of Hyksos kings. Other pottery, typical of their period were uncovered. (See Chap.III) Also a few scarabs belonging to the XIIth Dynasty were found. These however, need not raise a problem because, as Albright has suggested, they most likely are the remains of the booty taken from the Egyptian kings. The lack of pre-Hyksos occupation or construction still further bears out the suggestion. And from this it seems permissible for us to draw the conclusion that this tell was once the Hyksos seat of power, Avaris, and that it was originally constructed by them.

In 1912, excavators at Heliopolis, only eleven miles from Tell el Yahudiyeh, were rewarded with the uncovering of an almost identical camp. Located near the Nile the earthen walls were constructed with alternating layers of Nile mud and desert sand. The original banks appear to have been only about fifty feet wide at the base and twenty-five feet wide at a possible height of twenty-five feet. The camp was a square enclosure, about one hundred and fifty feet less to the side than Tell el Yahudiyeh.

These two structures are in general assigned to the Hyksos period. "It is harder to fix the exact date for our fortresses, since the remains of the original settlements inside are far below water level and cannot be easily studied". Numerous fragments of sculpture of the Old Kingdom were found within the embankment, proving decidedly that its structure is later than the Vth Dynasty, and the remains of the XIth Dynasty walls prove to be much later, therefore, our more reasonable solution is that these camps were of Hyksos origin.

Tell el Yahudiyeh and Heliopolis find striking Asiatic parallels. On the east slope of the Lebanon mountains, not very far from the source of the Orontes, lay the city Kadesh "Holy". About three miles to the east of the city rises the modern Tell Nebi-Minda which appears to have been the Hyksos camp guarding their Syrian capitol. The enormous earthen enclosure is over a mile to the side with its corners oriented to the compass points. At places the remains of the embankment still reached the height of thirty feet and varied from two hundred to two hundred and fifty feet in width at the base. In size, this camp is almost seven times as large as the one at Tell el Yahudiyeh, but in structure it is almost identical.

Following the Orontes to the north we find the modern city of Homs on its banks as it enters the fertile plains. Not far from this city rises the Tell Sefinet Nuh. Here excavators have

found another earthen enclosure. In size it approached the camp at Tell el Yahudiyeh. Its rounded corners are oriented to the cardinal points.

The two Asiatic ramparts were constructed of earth, taken from the ditches which surround the camps. Those surrounding Nebi-Mindu are about fifteen feet deep and vary closely to sixty feet in width, while at Sefinet Nuh they spread out to the great width of three hundred feet.

The two fortresses in Egypt, as has been stated above, were made of sand, and mud and sand. This goes to show that the builders used whatever material was ready at hand. The pure sand banks demanded re-enforcements, and sun-dried bricks and stucco were used for the purpose.

The dating of these Asiatic camps, like those in Egypt, is very difficult. The embankments of Nebi-Mindu, however, were cut through and in it found abundant fragments of pottery which have been classified as follows: "(1) flat bottom vessels of Early Bronze; (2) all principal types of Early Bronze incised found in the mounds of Central Syria; (3) bowls with inverted (turned in) rims, which are characteristic of the Early and Middle Bronze; (4) plates or flat bowls with bodies sharply carinated just under the rims; (5) thin-walled jugs with cyma shapes, as at Beth-Yerah and at other Early Bronze sites in Syria and Palestine; (6) cooking pot rims, of early types.

At once we recognize the total lack of the Late Bronze specimens. And this is of great importance, and immediately gives us our TERMINUS A QUO at approximately 2000 B.C. since it proves that the construction took place early in that period or late in the Middle Bronze Age. But what is of equal importance is the fact that the pottery which was found within the enclosure was predominantly of the Late Bronze from which we draw the inference that the occupants were of that period, and that they erected the embankment.

The parallelisms of these Egyptian and Asiatic earthen enclosures need no speculation. They belong to the same general period. They are, one might justly say, identical in structure. They are square, or almost so, with their corners oriented to the four compass points. In size they vary according to the importance of their locations. The greater Egyptian fortress was placed at the strategic point in the Eastern Delta at the very opening of the Wadi Tumilat where it overlooked and guarded the main highway from the East to the West, "chiefly aimed to secure the eastern parts, as foreseeing that the Assyrians, who were then the greatest power, would be serious to that kingdom." The largest of all what we term Hyksos camps is the one near Kadesh. The size of this camp is enormous and well supports Breasted's view that Kadesh was the city to which the Hyksos fled after they had been expelled from Egypt and southern Palestine, and from which they were able to organize the great coalition of Syrian and Palestinian kings which Tuthmose III was called upon

to face. But there is another reason for the size of this fort. A dash, as has been stated above, was situated on the banks of the Orontes which cut its way between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges. Through this valley, modern Nahr el Kebir, as through the Wadi Tumilat in Egypt, passed the main highway into Palestine and the south from the north. To be able to hold this fort would mean to be able to keep out invaders from that direction. Thus we readily see that it was extremely important that this point should be strongly fortified.¹⁰

From the arguments presented here we draw the inference that these earthen fortifications were constructed by an invading people whom we know best by the name "Hyksos". But unfortunately it does not tell us who the builders were or whence they came.

TRANS CASPIAN CAMPS

As the two Egyptian camps found striking parallels in the Asiatic forts, so these four again find remarkable parallels in the Transcaspien territory. Pumpelly, who made an expedition and

¹⁰ Only the two camps Tell Nebi-Mindu to Tell Sefinet Nuh are described in detail for a comparison. The camp near Qatna, Tell el Misrifeh, north of Hama and Camp Hazor in northern Palestine are also very similar in size and construction, to those in Egypt. There is also the remains of a great earthen rampart at Beth-Pelet which tends to show the remains of a similar camp there.

While some excavating east of Anau in 1903, records the finding of a large and nearly square camp with earthen walls. Two such forts have been found in the Merv oasis about eleven miles apart. The remains of Chinar Fort have been so worn through the centuries that at parts it was level with the surface. But enough remained to easily trace the size and shape of the original. The hurried expedition and lack of excavations will not permit definite statements concerning the date and occupants, but we know that the enclosure was nearly square with its corners oriented to the four points. The second camp, about eleven miles farther east, is also square and oriented as its partner, but much smaller. The larger one measures fully 2000 feet to the side which the smaller is limited to 400 feet. The thick mud walls of the smaller fort still rise to the height of nine feet, while in some instances they are completely worn away.

Concerning the structure and date of these walls and its builders, little or nothing is known. It remains for future workers, who no doubt will be well rewarded for their efforts and will possibly throw some definite knowledge on the subject under

the one thing, however, in which we are interested at the present moment is the remains of the ramparts and what they tend to reveal to us. We have described the camp at Tell el Yahudiyyeh and Heliopolis in Egypt and have shown that they belong to the Hyksos period. We have compared these two with the Asiatic forts which also belong to the same general period. We must now further

state that this type of fortification is not native to Egypt, Syria, or Palestine.

As early as the Second Dynasty, the Egyptians were interested in high massive brick walls with elaborate trap gates as is seen from the remains at Abydos and at El Kab, while our described camps have sloping walls with only a long gradual incline to serve for an entrance. Palestine and Syria have a few earthen walled cities but these are not to be compared with the Hyksos camps. They are only banks of earth around the immediate city and are not nearly as high and wide, and some of these show the evidence of brick walls built on top of them. In all probability these enormous camps are due to the use of the horse and chariot which demanded much space, and according to our present knowledge, were introduced into the west by these invaders.

We must then of necessity seek for the origin of this type of fortification in some other land. And since we are wholly dependent on archaeological evidence as sources for information we are naturally limited to the work that has been done in that field. In the light of our present knowledge, evidence is leading us to the Transcaspiā lands for a possible origin--if not for an origin of similar structure at least. And this tempts one to infer that the people who constructed the ramparts in Syria and Egypt were natives of the Transcaspiā lands where this type of fortification may have had its origin, or that they came from an even more remote country and came to Transcaspiā as invaders

and built their forts. In this case it would appear that at least the central force of the Hyksos people came from the Transcaspians or beyond. But we must not be too hasty in leaping to conclusions. The comparisons of the forts tell only one side of the involved story. We must indeed bear this in mind but we must also seek further.

HYKSOS KINGS

A reading of Manetho's tradition reveals the regrettable fact that he himself did not know who these kings were and that he dismissed the entire subject by giving us a possible but doubtful etymology of the term Hyksos and then concluded by saying "that some say that these people were Arabians".

In his etymology he states that the first syllable "Hyk" means kings and the syllable "sos" means shepherd only in the vernacular. This latter syllable is a matter of uncertainty because it does not appear in the language of the old monuments and because Manetho himself raises the question of the true meaning of the word. The former syllable is a common word in the Egyptian language and means "ruler". It has also been observed by readers of ancient monuments from Egypt that a certain Hyksos king "Khian" entitled himself "Hyk" and that this word was frequently followed by a word meaning "countries". And this word, crested claims, may by slight and phonetic changes become "sos". Thus "Hyksos" is not at all an improbable Greek spelling for the Egyptian title "Rulers of Countries".

Gardiner claims that the common etymology is merely a false and "popular etymology" and that the term really finds its origin in the Egyptian word "HK W-H SWT" which means "Rulers of Foreign Countries", and that this term is occasionally found in the Egyptian language from the time of the Sixth Dynasty down to the Ptolemaic period and commonly meaning foreign tribal chiefs.¹²

Breasted and Gardiner, however, are not the only scholars who depart from the traditional etymology. Scholars in general agree that the term "Hyksos" means "rulers of countries", "rulers of foreign lands", or "Princes of the desert" rather than "Shepherd Kings." In the following discussion we shall have opportunity to see that at least one king entitled himself "ruler of countries" rather than "Shepherd King".

We learn from different sources many of the names of the kings. Undoubtedly the six kings which Manetho names are the greatest or the most notorious kings from the Egyptian view point. Salatis heads the list. He resided at Memphis and made both Upper and Lower Egypt pay him tribute. And it was he who feared the Assyrian power and fortified Avaris and placed there a large garrison. (This has been described above.) His name, however, may mean nothing more than the Semitic term for ruler from which derived the Hebrew term "שָׁלִיט" (shallit).

Salatis' two successors Beon and Apachnas are unknown to

as other than their mere Greek names. Apaphis--often spelled Apepi--has left us a bronze dagger which may well have been his personal possession. Immediately below, which at one time had been inlaid possibly with ivory, is his cartouche deeply incised in the thick bronze blade. This inscription is interpreted to mean "Lord of the Scimitar", which pictures him more or less as a master warrior.

The following king Janias was undoubtedly the greatest of all the Hyksos monarchs. He is commonly identified as king Khian. Articles bearing his cartouche are found in Egypt and in distant lands. In the beautiful temple at Bubastis he erected a black granite statue of life size, sitting on the throne. This was broken at waist-line and only the lower half has been recovered. "A curious peculiarity to be noticed is the dedication of the statue. Ia-Ra (Khian) has dedicated it to himself, to his DOUBLE, ¹⁵ or to his IMAGE." The inscription is on the throne on either side of the muscular legs. We also find his cartouche cut into a block of black granite which was found near Gebelson. A steatite scarab mounted in gold with his name inscribed "was found on the top of the inner city wall at the north end of trench 3" at Gezer. The small granite lion found near Bagdad has his cartouche on its breast. From it we learn his throne or royal name SEUSERENRA. The cartouche is interpreted "the Beautiful God Se-user-en-ra, the Emeraude of the Land." In the course of excavation under the direction of Sir A. Evans in Crete in the Minoan temple at Knossos was found an alabaster vase lid bearing

his personal name. From these trophies we may rightly infer that he was no king of small importance. It would appear at first sight that he indeed was a ruler or "Embracer" of lands, but these articles do not necessarily carry with them the sign of authority. They might equally as well represent commerce and the small lion from Bagdad may even be a trophy brought back at a much later time by the Assyrian conqueror Sardanapal. But even so, it all tends to show that he was a great king.¹⁴

This great king vacated the throne to another possible Apophis who left his mark in history by erecting, as an inscription states, "great pillars and gates of copper" in the temple at Bubastis¹⁵. We learn from the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus that he was king of the South and North and the scribe Ashmes states that he wrote in the 33rd year of his reign.

Besides the names given by Manetho we learn other Royal Hyksos names from scarabs. Undoubtedly the most famous ones are those bearing Semitic names. "YAKAB-EL" and "YAKAB-BEL" meaning "Jacob (he who outwits) is God" and "Jacob is Lord", are among the most common ones. Another, "ant-hal" "Anath is God", is well known and it is interesting to note that Anath is the Syrian goddess of love and war.

There is a third Apophis who is one of the last kings. It was he who stimulated the feeling of hatred in the Egyptian king Thebes to the point of open revolt which was the beginning of

14 P.-A.Eg.1, 4th ed. p.118; Mac.Cez.11, p.316

15 Nav.-Sub.pl. XXIV

the "long and terrible war" of liberation. Scarabs of this period give us further names as follows: Mer-user-Ra; Senken; As-hetep-Ra; Uatjkara; and Nekara.

Of all the Hyksos names, only a few have really been identified. The origin of less than half of them has been discovered. We are certain, with the exception of the few so designated above, that they are not Semitic. And this is about the limit of our certainty. These non-Semitic names "sind indessen auch nicht als kleinasiatisch zu erweisen," but there is a possibility of a Hittite element. But at present we do not possess the key to the Hittite pictographically written language and therefore one cannot speak with certainty. Thus, when all is said and done, in so far as the names are concerned, it is still mostly conjecture.

CONCLUSIONS

In the opinion of the writer the evidence of the above described type of fortifications indicates that at least a part of the invaders, especially that portion which introduced the horse which demanded large camps, came from Central Asia; that in their westward movement a clan or even clans of Semites joined them and played an important part; and that possibly the Hittite movement into North Syria so disturbed the country that some of the natives were driven from their homes and joined this westward movement and that even some Hittites themselves joined the sweep which ended in Egypt. The Hyksos seem to be a com-

glomeration or "Volkerwanderung" rather than a people under the leadership of a chief with the intention of conquering, and harvesting the spoils. And this, it seems to me, is in full harmony with what Manetho said; "At length they made one of themselves king." It is by all means possible that these Hyksos people came into the Delta in small but successive groups rather than in one great tribe. And this makes it much easier to see how they were able, through gradual influence rather than by the stroke of a sword, to gain control of the Central Power¹⁶ "yet without our hazarding a battle with thee". Egypt, although it was in a degraded condition, was certainly still capable of offering some resistance to a foreign tribe coming with the objective of gaining the throne.

16 Manetho

CHAPTER III

POTTERY OF THE HYKSOS PERIOD

"Arise, and go down to the potter's house,
And there I will cause thee to hear my word." 1

The voice of God, as it came to Jeremiah in the sixth century, B.C., becomes a mighty challenge to the modern archaeologists. Pots and potsherds are becoming more and more to be recognized as a definite means of ascertaining the elements that entered into the culture of peoples that lived centuries ago.

Although these people had not achieved the methods of communication by means of writing which are so common to us, nor had they attained the standard of foresight and knowledge for recording their daily procedures and carefully filing them away for the use of future generations, nevertheless they have not come and gone without leaving evidence of their abode or without making their indelible^{im-}print in the "sands of time" through contributions to the great and endless process of human development. Just as we to-day have our important craftsmen, artists, and scholars, so these early people esteemed their craftsmen. Only note the positions which they held in such high esteem that "without these shall no city be inhabited",² the holder of the plough, the signet engraver, the "smith sitting by the anvil and considering the unwrought iron", and the "potter sitting at his work".

1 Jer.18:2

2 Ecclesiasticus 38:12,15,17,18,19

These particular crafts seem obscure to us to-day, but as the potter was of great importance to the commonwealth of those days, so to the archaeologists, not the ancient potter, but the products of his handiwork are indispensable.

One of the great values of pottery is the fact that it is next to imperishable. To illustrate this, one need only to point out that twenty or even thirty centuries of time have occasionally permitted to remain intact the very finger prints of the moulder on the unbaked clay as he pressed it between his fingers. So the evidence of the development of ideas and culture of these people remained, and much of it still remains, hidden in the dark bosom of mother earth.

A second great value in pots and potsherds lies in the fact that these people were far more conservative than man is to-day. A particular type of useful vessel probably remained unchanged for a century or more providing the city remained undisturbed by foreign influence, through such means as trade or conquest. In this very conservative element lies the great value. If in the course of excavations workers suddenly find a distinct change in form, material or decorations, they may say with almost certainty that the city entered into trade relations with a foreign country or that it fell into the hands of invaders.

It is important to remember that in the case of a conquest, the natives frequently became slaves and continued to be the potters of the city. Naturally they were inclined to follow

their own type and form of pots, but if it so happened that the invaders were used to a different style of ware or decoration, we find that the potter, most likely under compulsion, departed from his native type by compromising with the new, and thus having a new or third type. It is the new influences and changes which are found side by side with the native types in some levels which aid in establishing the identity of the invaders if the new forms which entered can be traced to their original homes.

Pottery as an aid for dating the different strata is indispensable. So marked are the distinctions of the different periods that in the absence of all other means for dating, the date of the stratum may be approximated by the remains of the pots and potsherds. For instance, during the excavating season of 1932 at Tell en Nasbeh under the admirable direction of Dr. Bade, in a certain tomb was found a beautiful little lamp bearing an inscription with the names of "Stephen" and "Paul". This at once fixes the date of the lamp and the use of the tomb in the early Christian period. Of course, this is an extreme case, but the different forms, shapes, decorations, the burnished surfaces, the refinement of clay, and the shapes of handles and the like, all have their period and stage in the development, and correspond to the cultural stages.

For a modern comparison, let us take the development of our automobile. Let us imagine that the bodies of the numerous styles were imperishable and that two thousand years hence

people would discover them. We would not doubt for an instant that the people would be able to trace the development without difficulty. Without hesitation they would place the square cornered, copper finished boxes with two seats, without doors or top, as a beginning of the process. Nor would they hesitate to place the highly polished, nickel-plated trimmings, rounded corners, built on tops with sliding glass windows as the later type. Just as this future man would be able to note the development in the automobile bodies, so the archaeologist observes the different stages of progress in pottery. Of course we must bear in mind that one year in the development of the automobile corresponds to approximately a century in the evolution of pottery and that the pottery has no date stamped on it.

We find the old pottery of the cave-man made of unrefined and cleansed clay. After this was shaped into the desired form by hand, it was usually placed in a fire for baking, though sometimes it was merely sun-dried. The surface color of this product varies, which goes to show that the firing facilities were not of the best since the varied color results from irregular firing.

The development of the handle is of outstanding interest. The "ledge" and "loop" handles are the most famous types. The

early "ledge" handle is merely a bit of clay pinched together with finger and thumb, making a little more than a slight projecting wedge as shown in figure 1. In the process of development



fig. 1.



Fig.2

this wedge became more pronounced in each dimension. It projected out from an inch to an inch and a half and it became wide enough for each of the four fingers to clutch it. (Fig.2)

The "loop" handle most likely found its origin in what is sometimes called the "button" handle. The loop began to make its first appearance by a simple thread-hole through the "button"



or projecting knob. (Fig.3) As time advanced this thread-hole was enlarged to a finger-hole, (Fig.4) and from thence to the regular loop handle sometimes a rod of clay fastened to the vessel by either end and sometimes it was worked in with the body (Fig.5).



Fig.4



Fig.5

The ornamentation of pottery also marks distinct stages of development. The earliest types are simply parallel lines sometimes horizontal, sometimes perpendicular, and sometimes diagonal or basket work. The single incised rope design is also common. Pottery of a much later time has the striking feature of a variety of pictures of animals, birds and plants. Painting is not common until a later period.

The lamp is the most striking and interesting illustration in the evolution of pottery. The earliest forms are simply saucers which gave too much freedom to the wick which must often

have rolled into the oil and extinguished the flame. Very early we notice the edges turned in so as to form a spout to prevent this frequent unfortunate occurrence. In the course of time the edges were brought together and still later only two small openings remained, one for the wick and one for pouring in the oil.



We must, however, not dwell on the evolution of the pottery too much since our chapter does not deal with it. These few illustrations are offered simply to give an understanding of the importance of pottery in dating the different strata of the ruined cities. We shall now direct our attention to the different types of wares and decorations which were in common use during the Hyksos period and which are commonly designated by that name.

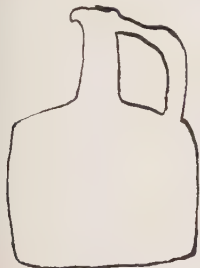
Before we take up the marked Hyksos types let us note that on the whole the pottery of this period is more uniform. The clay is finer, and the flint, which is mixed with the clay to give it strength, is ground to a reasonably fine powder. Baking facilities have improved to permit better and more even firing. This improvement evidently made the thin walls--walls of these vessels are much thinner than in the preceeding period--less porous and burnishing became a decoration rather than a necessity.

3 Burnishing was a very early art in Egypt. It was reformed by rubbing the surface of the vessel with a sharp-edged stone or bone, and to close up the pores to prevent the liquid contents from seeping through.

the ledge handle began to be more uncommon though the shape of the large water jar--the *amra*--and the small jar--the *amra*--used for dipping the water and oil from the large jars--remained unchanged.

SPECIFIC TYPES

(1) CYLINDRICAL JUGS



Probably the most outstanding type of pottery accredited to this period is the Cylindrical Jug. It derives its name from its cylinder-shaped body. Its base is usually flat, though occasionally it is slightly convex. The shoulders very somewhat in their slope. Generally they slope very gently to a rather high and narrow neck. The handle is fastened to the upper part of the neck and to the body. This handle varies somewhat between the Egyptian and Palestinian ware. Usually the Egyptian handle is simpler and neater. The Palestinian handle is frequently clumsy and rough, and sometimes it is what we call the double handle. These jugs are common to the Hyksos sites in Egypt, Yahudiyyeh and Heliopolis, and in Palestine and Syria, Beth-Pelet, Jericho, Megiddo, Nebi-Mindu, and other sites.

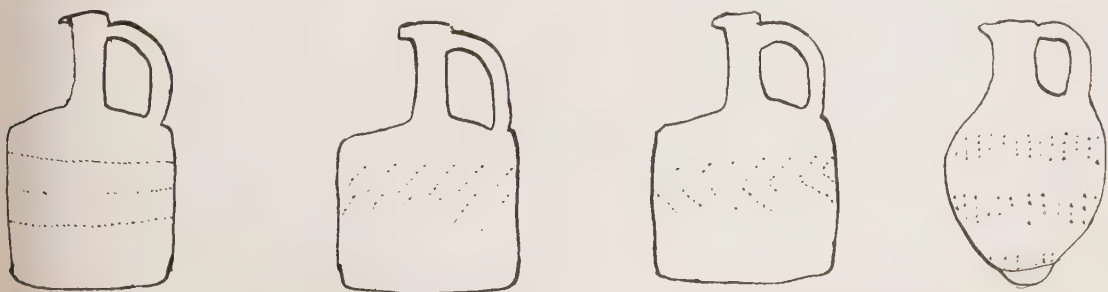
(2) BLACK PUNCTUATED WARE

A second pronounced Hyksos type of pottery is the black ware which appears to have been in more common use in Egypt than in Palestine. Nearly every single Hyksos grave at Yahudiyyeh contained an ample supply of this ware, varying in size and shape. Numerous cylindrical jugs, the vase-shaped jars with wide mouth,

juglets and other types of ware were found.

Petrie has suggested, because this black ware was not commonly found in Palestine, that Egypt was in exclusive trade relation with some north Syrian or Asia Minor City and that this ware must have come thence. It is quite possible that this ware finds its home in some Asiatic city since it is not native to Egypt and is not found in the preceding period. It is, however, beginning to make its appearance in Palestine as at Megiddo, Beth-Shan, Beit Mirsim, and other Hyksos sites. Of course this does not disprove Petrie's suggestion because it appears to be a fact that the Hyksos, while ruling Egypt, were in intimate contact with Syria and Palestine and even ruled them from Egypt, and that the black ware might easily have found its way into the neighboring lands toward the east under such circumstances.

The punctuated decorations are put on the unbaked article with a pointed instrument in a great variety of designs. Some of the designs are simply parallel lines running vertically, diagonally, and in circles around the body of the article. Frequently these little holes are filled with a white lime slip which was used to put a finer polished surface on the ware. The figurines on the following page illustrate a few of the various designs.



The pointed base juglet to the right is an example of the
punctuated ware in Palestine.⁴ This ware, however, is commonly
found in the dark grey and red rather than the black which is so
common to Egypt. This is one of the juglets or dippers referred
to above which was commonly used for dipping the water, wine or
oil from the larger jars.

(3) BUTTON BASE WARE

This type of ware takes its proper name from its form of
base. It is called the button-base and it indeed is a little more
than a button in size in comparison with the rest of the vessel.
So small is it that it appears impossible for the vessel ever to
have stood on it. The button is nothing but a flat and narrow
disc, at the base of the vessel.

This type is found commonly on the spinning-top shaped ves-
sels and there is a possibility that they developed from it. They
are very uncommon on the larger vessels. They make their most fre-
quent appearances on the small articles from the tiny three inch
ointment jar to the twelve inch juglets.

Some of these articles have the punctuated designs form
the spiral to the parallel lines. They are generally found in

4 After Lin. Ann. Dec. 1932 Pl. 39, 1

the uniform colors of dark red and grey and in greenish yellow, though occasionally alternating painted bands of white and crimson run around the body.

The button-base is even more pronounced in Egypt than in Palestine and Syria. The Egyptian type tends to be somewhat larger and therefore it may have been useful. From the Tell el Yahudiyyeh ware, the base appears to have developed into the ring-base. It becomes broader and more useful.

(4) CONICAL VASE

This type of vessel was commonly found at all excavated Lykos sites in Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. It is merely a lengthy cone-shaped vase, without a mouth or spout. The button-base appears in a clumsy blunt point, probably used, especially in Egypt, to set the vase in sand or mud. The vessels from the different sites and countries are identical with the exception that the Egyptian vases are without a handle, while those from Palestine and Syria have a small loop handle, one end of which is fastened to the rim and the other a few inches down the side. This of course would be expected because the handle was in much earlier use in Palestine than in Egypt.

This type of vase seems to have found its way from Egypt into Palestine rather than vice-versa since the handle is very uncommon in Egypt. If it had found its way from Palestine to Egypt certainly the handle would have moved with it. Furthermore, this shaped vase was common to the Egyptians in remote times.

Some of their pre-dynastic red and black ware is of the cone-shape.

Along with these conical vases are occasionally found ring-stands, used to hold the vase right side up. These cannot really be classified as Hyksos because they appear to have been in very common use in Upper Egypt and are found in a variety of forms. They do, however, make their first appearance in Palestine during the Hyksos period, though pointed vases of some kind were common to the land from the earliest times. The Palestinian ringstands are almost identical with the ones found in Hyksos tombs at Yahudiyyeh and from this it would appear that the Hyksos were responsible for its appearance in Palestine. They remained in common use through the Israelite and down to the Hellenistic period.

(5) OTHER TYPES OF VESSELS

(a) The large water, wine, and oil jars, above referred to, are usually made by hand and of a coarse clay. The curvature of the sides is at points irregular, and there are no signs of the wheel. They have the small button-base. The minor, though visible parallel lines are the remains of the polishing which seems to have been performed by use of a broad stick. Some of these jars stand about forty inches in height.

(b) Large table or meal bowls with a small ring base are also common to this period. Some of them have the regular loop handle, though most frequently these are lacking, especially from the Egyptian vessels.

(c) The Beth-Felet tombs produced abundant material representing this period. The most numerous of any single type was the cone-shaped jar. These jars differ from the conical vase described above in that they generally have two loop handles well down the side of the vessel and they have a relatively small neck with a turned-out rim.

(d) The saucer-shaped lamps with the appearance of a spout find their origin in this period. These lamps, as illustrated above (p. 6⁷) came into daily use and became so common and useful that they went through a long process of evolution and remained in common use long after the beginning of the Christian era.

One of the forms of decoration which has only been mentioned in passing, deserves special attention. This is what we call the spiral. The spiral is a circular painted band winding about and constantly receding from the center. This design has been considered by many scholars as a typical Hyksos motive. It makes its appearance in Syria, Palestine, Cyprus, and Egypt about 2000 B.C. and begins to decline shortly before the seventeenth century. It was in very common use and "in den verschiedensten Variationen derselben finden sie sich immer wieder und in Hunderten von ⁵ Exemplaren zieren sie heute die Museen aller Kulturländer."

This motive has commonly been attributed to the Hyksos, who, it has been believed, brought it by trade, from Asia Minor Coast

5 J-J.P.C.S. vol. 12, 1932, p. 58

lands. This of course may all be true and efforts have been made to trace this design. Incomplete work again denies us the definiteness which we desire. But the little work which had been done toward that end has not been done in vain. "Unser Bekanntwerden mit der kappadokischen Keramik hat gezeigt dass auch andere Möglichkeiten bestehen; finden wir doch auch in der kappadokischen Keramik die spirale als ein durchaus heimisches Motiv bei der Verzierung verschiedener Gegenstände aus Ton".⁶ Our former ideas may be overruled by new examples and knowledge from Cappadocia. Indeed, this country may prove to be its original home. This is of special interest when we correlate Garstang's view of the Hittites, who believes that their great capitol city was Hatti, (Garstang's--the Hittite Empire) and Duncan's conclusion that "We cannot get beyond the fact that everywhere, where we expect to find proof of the Hittite immigration, the new features that we find are invariably Hyksos."

"The rampart of earth-filled walls are acknowledged to be Hyksos. The new pottery of the period (2400-1600) is recognized as Hyksos; the Hyksos weapons, tools and scarabs are found, but little or nothing that we can designate as Hittite. The conclusion seems to be unavoidable that the Hittites of the Old Testament are in some sense, or to some extent, the same people as the Hyksos or shepherd kings of Egypt."⁷

The origin of the spiral design then stands equally as good a chance of being original to Cappadocia as to the west

6 J-JPOS, vol.12, 1932, p.58

7 D-D.B.H. vol.1, p.145

coast lands of Asia Minor. If it should prove to find its origin in the former country it would still further support the conclusions which were drawn in the preceding chapter, and also further support Duncan's view of the identity of the Hyksos, at least a part of them, with the Hittites. But such a view is very difficult to support.

A word must be said concerning the black pottery which was found so common to this period. It has been stated above that this particular type of ware was found in abundance in Egypt and more sparingly in Palestine and Syria, and that it was confined to this period.

Dr. A. Evans, during his course of excavations at Knossos in Crete found a very similar ware in the neolithic and earliest Minoan Strata, and Schliemann found the dark ware, incised and even occasionally the incisions were filled with a white chalk, at Troas or ancient Troy. The strata of the Troad which produced this ware, belong to the early neolithic and early Bronze Age and correspond to Minoan strata of Crete.

In the light of these evidences it would appear that the Hyksos brought this ware as a commercial article either from Crete or distant Troad. If we take into consideration the crude naval facilities which they had, naturally Crete would be our first guess. It has however, been stated above that trade between Crete and Egypt ceased abruptly for a considerable time and that this interruption, it will be recalled, was attributed

to the Hyksos invasion of the Delta. This is all probability the Hyksos had commercial relations with the Troad through which the black ware found its way into Egypt. Because of the common use of this ware in Egypt and its scarcity in Syria and Palestine it is self-evident that the ware traveled from Egypt into Palestine rather than vice-versa.

During the preceding discussion concerning the spiral it was mentioned that the spiral was a "painted" band. We do not know where painting made its first appearance though we have discovered that painted ware was in use among the royal classes of Egypt and that it was buried with their bodies. Petrie, however, claims that this ware was foreign to this country and that the ware which he found closely resembles the early Aegean ware found by Evans at Knossos.⁸ But Crete does not appear to have been its home. We find fragments of this ware in similar designs in Troad and also at Sakje-Geuzi, in the ancient country of Hatti. What is even more striking is the fact that similar painted ware was found by Pumpelly within the large earthen camps of Transcaspia.

The general painted designs, which vary from zigzag lines to points, of the Egyptian material resemble more closely the Aegean and Asia Minor fragments than those from Turkestan. As a matter of fact, Petrie states that the clay of the Egyptian

8 P-Roy.T,part II,p.46,pl.54

9 Pum.Ex.Tur.Pls,XXIX-XXXIII

ware is identical with that from Crete. However, there are some of the individual fragments from Turkestan that find their identicals in the Egyptian ware. But we must remember the fact that the transference of the Aegean ware into Egypt took place centuries before the coming of the Hyksos. Thus in reality the Hyksos have nothing to do with this particular painted ware. But other painted material came into Egypt during their period. This material they most likely imported from another land and Asia Minor is the most probable country.

The pottery, although it does not bear such great testimony toward the establishment of the identity of the Hyksos, nevertheless plays an important part in the history of these people.

These people did not have a distinct type of ware of their own. In this sense it appears as though they were, if we may use the term with limitations, "barbaric". They were, however, open to suggestions and willing to learn. They used whatever form of ware they found in the land and, if necessary, they made it fit their needs. They readily became Egyptianized. They patterned after their culture, government, and also their god. They brought with them their own god, "Set", but during their sojourn in the Delta they learned to do obeisance to the Egyptian god "Ra".

We cannot say with certainty that the black ware with its dotted and lined decorations of many designs came from the north coast lands of Asia Minor where some similar specimens have been found or whether it owes its nativity to some other

land and people of whom we know nothing.

Concerning the spiral, we have at least two definite possibilities, the priority of which remains to be settled by future research. The very same uncertainty holds true concerning the painted ware. Only here we have already found similar examples from three or four different lands if we exclude Egypt on the ground that the ware which was found there was imported. Crete is one possibility, the Troad a second, Sakje-Geuzi a third, while the fourth possibility lies in the distant land of Turkestan or Transcaspia.

Evidence is wanting for more definite conclusions. We, indeed, are very much interested in the origin of the different types and styles of ware that poured into Egypt, Palestine, and Syria during this period. But in this chapter we are not so much seeking for their native home since we are discussing and describing the "Hyksos pottery".

In concluding this chapter we can only say that we must wait for further excavations to establish the origin of the different types of ware. This will further aid us in identifying the Hyksos and also their trade relations with the neighboring countries while they reigned in Egypt. The one thing of which we feel that we may speak with assurance is that the Hyksos are responsible for the use and spread of the above described forms of ware into Egypt, Palestine and Syria. To them we may also attribute the rapid development of decorations, not only on the ware which we

characterize as "Hyksos", but on other ware as well. If their contributions were strictly limited to the field of pottery we would still be compelled to say that they made a real and lasting contribution to a growing culture.

CHAPTER IV

SCARABS

Do not weep my little Children
Small indeed you seem.
You may number with the mighty
'Tis not size that counts.

The early Egyptians were keen observers of their surroundings. We have noticed above that possibly as early as 4000 B.C. the observers of the solar system of astronomers had noted that 365 days constituted a year. Another group of observers whom we recognize under the term "entomologists" had noticed and studied the peculiar habits of a certain insect by the middle of the third millennium or even earlier. This certain insect, or beetle, the scarabaeus sacer, arrested the eyes of the people, firstly because of its general structure and its position of the hind legs and, secondly, because of its unusual habits of protecting its eggs.

The insect lives on the hot desert sand and therefore some kind of protection for the egg is necessary. The female deposits the eggs in balls of excrementitious matter. After this, the insects, either the male or female, push the balls of dung about on the sand with their hind legs until they gather a thick layer of fine dust. The young when they hatch feed on the pellets of dung and emerge at a certain stage of their growth.

The male and the female are very difficult to distinguish, so difficult, in fact, that the Egyptians were unable to do so. They believed that they had an example of reproduction by means of a single individual, and therefore, a symbol of eternity.

The striking structure and habits of this beetle mystified the people to the extent that they used the insect as the symbol for their god "KHEPERA"--"he who turns", the god who pushed or rolled the sun across the sky and the god of creation, the god who created all things out of the earth just as the young beetle came forth from the ball of dung and dust.

This beetle soon began to play a very important part in the minds of the people. As early as 2500 B.C. sculptors began to cut representations of this insect on small pieces of ivory and steatite which was glazed after it had been carved. Later they were cut on hard rock of different kinds. These little ornaments are known to us as scarabs, taking their name from the beetle, the scarabaeus sacer, which is carved on it.

The scarabs vary widely in size--from one-half to four or even five inches in length. The most common size is about three-fourths of an inch long, one-half an inch wide, and one-fourth of an inch high.

The earliest forms, as we would expect, represent the beetle in a very crude manner. The hands of the sculptor seem to have been somewhat shaky and thus with the uneven lines of damaged

to distinguish the head, prothorax and the elytra, the elytra at times being marked by two short lines, but no indications of legs.

The base of the scarab is flat and nearly always bears an inscription of some kind. Some bear royal names, some good-luck inscriptions, some superstitious phrases, decorations of every kind, from the pure linear or utilizing animals and floral forms, the lily patterns, the spiral and scroll and even representations of a king hunting in his chariot and a lion charging a deer. From these inscriptions we learn not a few names and throne titles of kings and other important officers. We can to some extent trace the development of art and also the cultural stages of the people.

The cruder or earlier representations of the beetle, it is believed, belong to the time of the tenth Dynasty or to the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. Figure 1 is such an example.

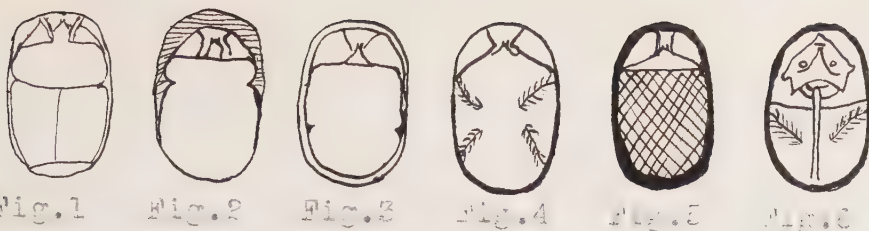
Figure 2 represents the inscription on the base. It is the name



Fig. 1 Fig. 2

of one of the kings of this Dynasty, king Mer-en-ra. The carving of the beetle, like all other designs, went through a process of evolution. The different stages of development

play no small part in determining the date of their usefulness and the life and time of its owner if it happens to bear his name. The following group represents somewhat this development.



This group belongs to the latter part of the XIIth Dynasty down through the Hyksos period. Figures 1, 2, and 3, it will be noticed, show a distinct development in distinguishing the different parts of the body but there is no attempt to represent the legs. Figure 4 is probably a degraded example. The head is much simpler than any of the first three. The prothorax, like in figure 3, is merely indicated by small notches on either side. But it has markings on the back which represent the legs. These may also have served as a beginning of decorations which played a very prominent part during the Hyksos period. Figure 5 is a typical Hyksos example and illustrates to some extent the development of decorations, even at the expense of distinguishing the parts of the body. Figure 6 is another Hyksos type but of the later period. The elytra are distinct, with one pair of hairy legs just behind the shoulders. The prothorax is about half the usual size. This may be due to the larger space required for the human head which takes the place of the head of the scarab.

* Drawings are copied from illustrations by H-S and H-S.

USE OF SCARABS

The Hyksos scarabs are being found in ever greater numbers and in more distant lands as the work of excavation advances. The greatest single discovery of these articles belonging to to this period was at Tell el Fara or Beth-Pelet. From only twenty-five tombs came one hundred and fourteen scarabs. They are all illustrated by Petrie in his "Beth-Pelet" in groups as they were found in the tombs. They represent the different foreign and Egyptian motives common at the time. We can notice the de-volution of some of the motives and the evolution of others. The figures of lions, an Egyptian motive, degrades to a point where the beast is hardly recognizable. Numbers 32, 53, 54, and 56 on plate VII illustrate this deterioration.¹ Numbers 5, 20, and 42 of the same plate¹ show the evolution of the incised rope design. The figures of the hawk, serpent, and uraeus remain common motives. Different decorations like the single and double spiral, the twisted rope and the palm-branch figures become very common.

We know that the art of sealing was not peculiar to Egypt. A Babylonian magician, Manum by name, and worshipper of the god Enki had left behind him a beautiful cylinder seal which has been found. The cylinder seal may also have been common to Syria and Palestine previous to the Hyksos time but these kings carried the

1 See Petrie--Beth-Pelet, pl. VII

scarabs and scarab seals from Egypt into Palestine. These seals and "charms" were used by the Hebrew people for many years after the time of the Hyksos reign. They were used as seals but also as charms for the protection of the spirit of the deceased. We may also say with approximate certainty that the Hebrew seals, signets, and rings are a direct development from the Hyksos scarab seals. To be sure, they suffered the natural process of change. The later type of finger ring with the flat inscribed bezel which was used as the seal may not bear great resemblances to the scarab threaded with a thin wire or the swivel scarab fastened to a metal ring, but neither do our modern sixteen-passenger airplanes resemble the Wright Brothers' machine which refused to fly over five hundred yards.

The signet and seal remained in common use until late in the Hebrew period. The Priestly writers, in recording the command which God gave to Moses concerning the erection of the twelve stones and the gold breast plate, used the scarab or the later development of it, as their bases. "Like the engraving of a signet-²...thou shalt make them to be enclosed in settings of gold." From this it would appear as though the scarab mounted in gold were still in common use.

² (Ex. 28:11; 21; 36; and 39:6, 14, 30)

CHAPTER V

EGYPT

The ancient history of Egypt is very interesting. Down at the time of the Hyksos invasion it stands in almost direct contrast to that of Sumer and Akkad, its contemporaries. It likewise stands in a similar contrast to that of Palestine, especially during the Hebrew period. The history of the two-river valley, like that of Palestine as recorded in the historical books, gives one the picture of constant warfare with invaders and frequent changes of rulers. But the history of Egypt is quite different. The Egyptian kings are seldom called upon to protect their people from the barbarism of invaders. "A uniform government of the whole country was the secret of over four centuries of prosperity under the descendants of Menes at Thinis, near Abydos. The remarkable development of these four centuries in material civilization led to the splendour and power of the first great epoch of the Egyptian history, the Old Kingdom. Art and mechanics reached a level of unprecedented excellence never later surpassed, while government and administration had never before been so highly developed. Foreign enterprises passed far beyond the limits of the kingdom, mines of Sinai were vigorously exploited." ¹ Such is the contrast to the continuous wars and campaigns of the Old Testament.

1- P.-H.An.Eg.p.16

We must, however, not permit this picture to deceive us. Egypt was not at all times in peace and using her energy for the material development of the country. She had a foe to face. The African negroes of the south, crept down upon the people and at times drove them back as far as the third cataract. The overthrow of dynasties likewise caused disturbance, and a plundering campaign was directed into Syria. But in spite of this, Egypt on the whole was a peaceful country and the greater per cent of her energy was used in constructive rather than destructive ways. Rather than look at her neighbors with an envious eye for more territory Egypt went out in peace and sought trade. We have noted in a previous chapter that as early as the First Dynasty painted pottery ware had been imported either from Crete or from Asia Minor. Byblos in Syria also shows evidence of Egyptian influence at a very early time. The solitude and majesty of the sphinx and pyramids also indicate to some extent the amount of energy that was utilized at home. Although some people today say that it was wasted energy, nevertheless we must face the fact that the Egyptians had the time to do this and that it is of far more lasting value than to go to war and destroy.

The peacefulness of the Egyptians may to a large extent be attributed to the physical conditions of the country. Egypt is a river valley and its prosperity depends wholly on the action of that river. The river is over five thousand miles long and a great part of the valley is now inhabited. At points the fertile plain is thirty miles wide while at the other points it is only a few

miles. From the sea coast south to the boundaries of the African forest, both east and west of this narrow valley, extend hot desert lands passable only at a few points. Thus the people of the neighboring countries found it difficult to approach Egypt by land which was to many people the only means of transportation.

The internal conditions of Egypt at times very seriously hampered the government. The scanty information which we possess would indicate that the nobles joined in an effort to set up their power in the land. According to Manetho, about the time of the seventh Dynasty there was such a period, and the government was overthrown and the land fell into disorganized conditions. Another such slump in power and disorganization became visible toward the decline of the XIIth Dynasty and continued on its downward way during the XIIIth Dynasty when the land fell victim to the invaders. In such a degraded, disorganized, and uncontrolled condition was the land that when the Hyksos invaders came to take the power, whether by force or gradual influence, the Egyptians were unable to withstand them, or as Manetho put it, "without our hazarding a battle with them."

This invasion and conquest was by far the greatest national disaster that had ever befallen the country. The memory of it was to linger long in the minds of the people and it created and even stimulated an enduring hatred toward the Asiatics. It transformed them from the peaceful constructive people into a vengeful, conquering and warlike race.

Until this disaster Egypt had apparently never desired more territory, but living under the rule of a foreign people from the east for a period variously estimated to have lasted from one to five centuries, stimulated Egyptian desire to throw off the burden and rule distant lands. Thus we may justly say that the Egyptian conquest of Palestine and Syria and across the Babylonian boundaries was the direct consequence of the Hyksos aggression.

The disorganized conditions of Egypt which began in the XIIth Dynasty and continued through the XIIIth Dynasty brought about two rival seats of power; Lower Egypt, or the Delta, with its capitol at Memphis, and Upper Egypt with Thebes as its center.

It was from Thebes that resistance was offered as the invaders took control of the land and it was also this seat of authority which dared to open revolt against them which resulted in the "long and terrible war" and the expulsion of the foreign rulers. We do not know at what time the Hyksos overthrew the Theban power, "but all our sources agree that they laid the entire country under tribute, making their headquarters at Avaris."²

The above quoted traditions (chapter II) give us the impression that these kings usurped the country by destroying temples and lives, but this is not altogether true according to other sources. Excavations prove that these people built beautiful temples to their god and set up statues in the land as at Bubastis. The very

fact that Egypt was able and strong enough to resist these kings and carry on a thirty year or more war campaign into Palestine and Syria proves that these "rulers" did not drain the land of its wealth and power. There must have been some prosperity.

The papyrus known as the SALLIER I, quoted below, gives us further evidence of the fact that they were not altogether destructive. The writer, Pentemere by name, was apparently a Theban scholar and most likely wrote the story from that point of view. The papyrus is weather worn at places and thus the lines are abruptly broken off.

"Now it befell that the land of Egypt was in dire affliction and that there was no Sovereign King of the time. And it happened that, behold, King Sek-nen-re was ruler of the Southern City. But dire affliction was in the A'amu town, the Prince Apophis being in Avaris, and the entire land was tributary to him with their produce in full as well as with all good things of Timuris. Then King Apophis took Sutekh to himself as lord, and did not serve any god which was in the entire land except Sutekh. And he built a temple of fair and everlasting work by the side of (the palace of) Apophis, and he arose every day to make the daily sacrifice of cattle to Sutekh, and the officials of His Majesty bore garlands of flowers exactly as it is done in the temple of Phra-Kurakhte. Now as to King Apophis, his desire was to bring up a matter of offense against King Sek-nen-re, the Prince of the Southern City.

"Now when many days were passed after this, King Apophis caused to be summoned his chief....and said unto them, 'The desire of my Majesty is to send a messenger to the Southern City in order to bring an accusation against King Sek-nen-re.' And his advisers knew not how to answer him. Then he caused to be summoned his scribes and wise men concerning it. And they made answer to him and said, 'O Sovereign, our Lord....There is a hippopotamus pool in the Southern City....the river and they (the hippopotami) do not allow sleep to come to us either by day or by night, but noise is in our ear. Let, therefore, Thy Majesty send to the Prince of the Southern City....King Sek-nen-re, and let the messenger say to him: 'King Apophis....commands thee to cause to be abandoned the hippopotamus pool.'....So shall Thy Majesty see who is with him as helper, for he does not incline to any god which is in the entire land except Amen-re, King of the Gods.'

"And when many days were passed after this, King Apophis sent to the Prince of the Southern City concerning the accusation which his scribes and wise men had said to him. And the messenger of King Apophis reached the Prince of the Southern City; and they took him into the presence of the Prince of the Southern City. And One said to the messenger of King Apophis: 'What is thy message to the Southern City; how didst thou come to make this journey? And the messenger said to him, 'King Apophis sends to thee to say: Let cause to be abandoned the hippopotamus pool which is in the flowing spring of the City for they do not allow

sleep to come to me either by day or by night ; but noise is in
my ear.' And the Prince of the Southern City remained silent
and wept a long time, and he did not know how to return answer
to the messenger of King Apophis. And the Prince of the Southern
City said to him: 'How did thy Lord hear of the pool which is in
the flowing spring of the Southern City?' And the Messenger said
to him: '....the matter concerning which he sent to thee.' And
the Prince of the Southern City caused the messenger of King
Apophis to be tended with all good things, meat, cakes....And the
Prince of the Southern City said to him: 'Return thou to King
Apophis thy master....and whatsoever thou sayest to him, I will
do it, when thou comest'....And the messenger of King Apophis be-
took him to journey to the place where his lord was.

"Then the Prince of the Southern City caused to be summoned
his great officers, and likewise all the chief soldiers that he
had, and he repeated to them the accusation concerning which
King Apophis had sent to him. They were silent with one accord
for a long time, and knew not aught to answer him whether good
or bad. And King Apophis sent to...."

It is lamentable that the story should break off at such
an important point but we must be thankful for the part which
we possess. There is a possibility of some day finding a copy
of this inscription but there is also the probability of never
learning how Sek-nen-re found his way out of the difficulties

because we are sure that he was unable to meet the demand of quieting the hippopotami.

We have a little bit of evidence which tempts a person at least to conjecture. In the Cairo Museum is the mummy of a king by the name of Sek-nen-re which has five terrible wounds in the head. It is tempting to jump to the conclusion that this is the mummy of the king mentioned in the inscription and that he was unable or unwilling to obey the demands of Apophis and that he opened resistance against him in which he was wounded and killed. We at least feel sure in saying that there developed a feud between the two kings.

We have a second papyrus inscription "The Carnarvon Tablet No. 1" After stating the date and the general salutation of praise to the king it records an interview between king Kamose, who is probably the immediate successor of Sek-nen-re, and his advisers, which is then followed with a description of the battle. The story, like many others, is incomplete but very valuable: it reads as follows:

"Year III, Horus 'Manifest-on-his-Throne', Two Goddesses 'Repeating Monuments', Horus of Gold 'Making-Content-the-Two Lands', King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kamose, given life like Re for ever and ever; beloved of Amenre Lord of Karnak.

"The powerful King within Thebes, Kamose, given life forever, was beneficent King, and Re caused him to be a veritable

king, and handed over to him the power in very truth. And His Majesty spoke in his palace to the council of grandees who were in his suite: 'To what end am I cognizant of it, this power of mine, when a chieftain is in Avaris, and another in Kush, and I sit in league with an A'amu and a Negro, every man holding his slice of this Egypt? He who shares the land with me, I do not pass him as far as Memphis, the water of Egypt. See, he holds, Shmun, and no man rests, being wasted through servitude of the Setyu. I will grapple with him and rip open his belly; my desire is to deliver Egypt and to smite the Asiatics.'

"And the grandees of his Council said: 'Behold, the Asiatics have advanced as far as Cusae, they have pulled out their tongues all together. We are at ease holding our part of Egypt. Elephantine is strong, and the midland is with us as far as Cusae. Men till for us the finest of their land; our cattle are in the papyrus marshes. Spelt is trodden out for our swine. Our cattle are not taken away....on account of it. He holds the land of the A'amu, we hold Egypt. But whoever comes to land and to oppose us, then would we oppose him.'

"And they were displeasing to the heart of his Majesty. 'As to this counsel of yours come. If....with weeping, the entire land shall acclaim me the powerful ruler within Thebes; Kamose the protector of Egypt.'

"I sailed down as a champion to overthrow the A'amu by the command of Amun, just of counsels, my army being valiant in front

of me like a blast of fire, troops of Mazoi being in advance of our strongholds in order to spy out the Setyu in order to destroy their positions, East and West bringing their fat, and my army abounding in supplies everywhere. I sent forth a powerful troop of Mezay while I spent the day....to coop up....Teti the son of Piopi within Nefrusi. I was not going to allow him to escape. I turned back the A'amu who had encroached upon Egypt and he acted like one who....the might of the A'amu. I spent the night in my boat, my heart being happy.

"When day dawned I was on him as it were a hawk. When the time of perfuming the mouth came I overthrew him, I destroyed his wall, I slew his fold, I caused his wife to go down to the river-bank. My army were like lions with their spoil, with slaves, herds, fat and honey, dividing up their possessions, their hearts being glad. The district of Nefrusi lacking when I reached it; their horses were fled within the garrison."⁴

Kamose seems to have been a daring, courageous, ambitious king. He was not satisfied with ruling Thebes while the Asiatics were in the Delta. His only ambition was fixed and that was to drive out these detested rulers. His advisers desired him to go easy and to let the Asiatics take the initiative and he the defensive but Kamose had made up his mind to turn the aggressive.

Professor Newberry has pointed out the fact that the name Piopi may be only a variant of Apophis and that Teti whom Kamose

4 J.E.A.-Gardiner, 5-1918, p.45

conquered was the son of Apophis. He also points out that Cusae agrees with Speos Artemidos of the inscription set up by Queen Hatshepsut and that it was in this city that the "Asiatics" had put to ruin the temple which she ordered to be restored.

According to the advice given by the king's council, Thebes was not repressed because of the rulers of the north but rather enjoyed privileges and even prosperity.

We cannot say whether Kamose advanced his victorious army on to Avaris but from the description of the battle he did complete work at Cusae which was, to our knowledge, the first defeat of the Hyksos.

Our next step of information comes from a short biography of a naval officer, Ahmose, inscribed in the wall of his rock tomb at El-Kab, his home city, about fifty miles south of Thebes. It would be interesting to quote the entire inscription but space will not permit. He states that he is the son of Baba who was a soldier of the king Sek-hen-re; that he took his father's place as a soldier on the ship "The Wild Bull", in his youth; that after he was married he was taken on the ship "Northern" because of his valor and also fought on foot in an attack on Avaris and there "I displayed valor on foot in His Majesty's presence. Hereupon I was promoted to the 'Manifestation in Memphis'"; that in another attack, four, in succession, he displayed courage and brought back prisoners and was awarded the medal of gold for his valor each time; that he helped in the at-

tack on Sharuhen, a town in Southern Palestine mentioned in Joshua 19:6--for three years, and was again rewarded with gold; that when he was with the army to attack Kush, the Nubian Bedouin and other battles and each time he was awarded with gold or slaves or land in his native city; that after a display of valor he was made a "Warrior of the Ruler"; that later he was made a "naval captain"; and that he also accompanied the army on a campaign to Retenu. The inscription closes with the statement that he is old and worn and that "I rest in the upland tomb which I myself have made."

"His Majesty" the king, under whom Ahmose served, was as we know from Manetho and other inscriptions the well known Amosis I. It was this king, who, according to the Greek scribe Ptolemy of Mendes, "razed Avaris to the ground", and became the king whom all Egypt honored and praised.

The siege was evidently long and hard. Three or even four attacks were made before the Egyptians succeeded in getting over the walls and driving out the Hyksos. Manetho states that finally an agreement was reached which permitted the Hyksos to march forth from the city 240,000 strong. He, however, had to reach this conclusion because of his endeavor to identify the Exodus with the expulsion of the Hyksos and, because he was a Jew, to be true to the Bible record. The account of naval officer and the following campaigns which were carried on by the Egyptians in Palestine and Syria will not justify such conclusions. The

Egyptians pursued the Hyksos at full speed into Palestine. The siege of Sharuhēn, shows that the foreigners fled hence for refuge and were pursued in warlike fashion.

Egypt is no more that peaceful nation which she was before the coming of the invaders. We see now a people who are inflamed with the spirit of revenge and hatred toward the Asiatics; a people who are brave, and daring in battle, fitted to challenge their enemy by the acquisition of horse, chariot, and spear; a nation who rewards her soldiers in terms of land, slaves, gold, and promotion of positions and public recognition and honor; a people who desire to secure their broken boundary from another similar disaster, and in doing so they subdue people far beyond their borders. The Egyptians were now desirous of restoring the quietude, prosperity, and order and power at home.

The Hyksos being expelled from the land, Egypt entered a new epoch in history. As the obscurity, the vagueness, and all the difficulties which accompany such conditions, attract the students to the study of the Hyksos kings, so the new period extends in a contrasting manner an invitation for study with all its detailed records of public events and many private achievements. Scribes began to chronicle king lists and war campaigns. Individual kings or queens recorded their constructive words and had statues placed in temples. But the crowning event of the new period was the writing of the large group of private letters between kings and vassal kings and other high officers, known to us as the "Tell el Amarna letters."

Amosis himself did not spend all of his time and energy in war. An inscribed stela found at Abydos informs us that he ordered a worthy memorial to be erected in honor of a deceased queen whom he greatly loved. His immediate successor Amenhotep I had a short reign and very little is known about him. His successor, Thutmosis I, king only by marriage and sharing his authority with the queen, carried on an extensive war campaign. So extensive was it, indeed, that when Thutmosis II came to the throne he could boast of his kingdom extending from Egypt to the Euphrates. Since he took the crown away from his brother it is easily understood that difficulties were involved and that the home matters demanded all of his time and energy. As he was giving attention to these problems the vassal states immediately began to revolt and throw off his authority. By the twentieth year of Thutmosis III the rebellion had spread as far south in Palestine as Sharuhén, to which the king then directed his attention.

One of the most important pieces of historical work is that which describes the campaigns of this king. It is known to us as the "Annals of Thutmosis III". The scribe who recorded "all that his majesty did" was a member of the army. From the inscription of his own tomb near Thebes we read "I beheld the victories of the king which he won in every country....I record the victories which he won in every land, putting (them) into writing according to facts."

5 B.-An.Rec.11,p.164-65

6 Ibid.,para.430-432

The "Annals" show that a severe battle was fought at Megiddo and that the booty which they took from that city was enormous and is almost beyond the range of our imagination. The first battle was fought in the hills near the city. "His majesty went forth in a chariot of electrum, arrayed in his weapons of war.... When his majesty prevailed against them at the head of his army, and when they saw his majesty prevailing against them, they fled headlong to Megiddo in fear, abandoning their horses and chariots of gold and silver." The city was well walled and the gates had been locked. But the enemy fled to the wall and the people inside "hauled them up by pulling them by their clothing."

The following few lines of the "Annals" show a defect in the Egyptian army. "Now if only the army of his majesty had not given their hearts to plundering the things of the enemy, they could have (captured) Megiddo at this moment, when the wretched foe of Kadesh and the wretched foe of this city were hauled up in haste to bring them into the city." The king was very much displeased with this rude act of lust for spoils since he was more interested in destroying the leaders of the foe than in the rich booty, "The king of the Hittites, who has revolted is within it; and because it is the capture of a thousand cities, this capture of Megiddo."

A siege of the city followed and finally the enemy surrendered by bringing great and valuable gifts to the victorious king.

the people were taken as captives and slaves but were not put to the sword in wholesale slaughter, such as we so often read about in the Semitic wars.

The king, according to the "Annals", made annual expeditions to Palestine and Syria. Seventeen such campaigns are recorded, the details of only a few of them being lost. The last campaign carried out by the old king was that directed against the Hyksos capital in Syria, Xadash on the Orontes. Apparently it was from this city that the leaders were able to organize the whole country into a firm coalition in an attempt to overpower the Egyptian army and authority. And in all probability it was the Hyksos kings who had been expelled from the Delta who were the leaders of the joint power. With the fall of this city, which took place in the thirtieth year of the king's reign, came also the end of the Hyksos people. To our knowledge they never made another appearance in history.

Egypt was once more the lord on the throne, ruling the extensive kingdom from the Nile to the Euphrates. As a security against another revolt, the sons of the nobility were taken to Egypt where they were educated to the Egyptian manners and for loyalty and respect for their sovereign. This act served a double purpose. Naturally the nobles of the vassal states would hesitate before rebelling against a power which held their sons, and secondly these Egyptian educated sons would be sent to fill va-

The victorious Thutmosis III was hailed as the mighty king as he returned to the Delta. For centuries he was honored as the great king who had freed Egypt from the foreign rulers. For many years following, scarabs bearing his name were considered as sacred. They were regarded as having magical power to protect the wearer from harm, especially against attack and injuries from other men. He became a subject for the poets. One such poem entitled "Hymn of Victory" was inscribed on a stela and erected in the temple at Karnak where excavators found it many years later.

It shall be quoted below because it gives us an insight into the religion of the people and their idea of their god.

"Saith Amen-Ra, Lord of Karnak:

Thou comest to me, thou rejoicest, seeing my beauty,
My son, my avenger, Menkheperra, living for ever,
I shine because of thy love;
My heart expandeth at thy beautiful coming to my temple;
My two hands make thy limbs to have protection and life,
Doubly sweet is thy might to my bodily form.
I have established thee in my dwelling place
I have done wondrous things for thee;
I have given to thee might and victory over all lands;
I have set the will and the fear of thee in all countries,
Thy terror is far as the four pillars of heaven.
I have magnified the dread of thee in all creatures,
I have caused the roaring of thy Majesty to go among the
Nine Bows.

The chiefs of all lands are gathered in thy grasp;
I myself have stretched forth my two hands and have
bound them for thee.

I have bound together the ANU of Setet by myriads,
And the Northerners by hundreds of thousands as captives;
I have struck down thine enemies beneath thy scandals,
Thou hast smitten the host of rebels according to my
command.

The earth in its length and breadth, Westerners and
Easterners are subject to thee.

Thou treadest down all lands, thy heart is glad....
Thou hast crossed the Stream of the Great Circle of
Naharin with victory and with might.

I have come, I have caused thee to smite the prince of Tjahi,
I have hurled them beneath thy feet among their mountain.
I have caused them to see thy majesty as a lord of radiance;
Thou hast shone in their fact like my image.

I have come: I have caused thee to smite the IMU-SETH.
Thou hast made captive the chiefs of the AMU of Retnu,
I have caused them to see thy Majesty equipped in thy panoply,
When thou takest weapon and fightest in the chariots.

I have come; I have caused thee to smite the land of the East,
Thou hast trodden down those who are in the regions of God's
Land:

I have caused them to see thy Majesty like a circling star,
When it scattereth its flames and shooteth forth its fire.

I have come: I have caused thee to smite the land of the West,
Zeftiu and Asi are in fear.
I have caused them to see thy Majesty as a young bull,
Firm of heart, sharp-horned, unapproachable.

I have come: I have caused thee to smite those who are in
their fens,
The lands of Mitau tremble for fear of thee:
I have caused them to see thy Majesty as a crocodile,
Lord of terror in the water, inassailable.

I have come: I have caused thee to smite the Dwellers in the
Isles:
They who are in the midst of the Sea cower beneath thy roarings:
I have caused them to see thy Majesty as the Slayer,
Who riseth above the back of his victim.

I have come: I have caused thee to smite the Tehenu:
The isles of the Uientiu are subject to thy will,
I have caused them to see thy Majesty as a lion,
As thou makest them corpses in their wadis.

I have come: I have caused thee to smite the Hinder-Lands:
That which the Great Ring encircleth is enclosed in thy grasp.
I have caused them to see thy Majesty as a soaring hawk,
Who seizeth upon that which he spieth, whatever he may desire.

I have come: I have caused thee to smite the people of the
Fore-Lands:
Thou hast smitten the Sand-dwellers as living captives.
I have caused them to see thy Majesty as a jackal of the south,
Master of running, stealthy-going, roving the two lands. 8

8 This "Hymn of Victory" was copied from H.A.N.R.A. p. 33 ff.

CHAPTER VI

EFFECT OF THE HYKSOS

The average student ordinarily thinks of the "Land of the Nile" when the term Hyksos or "Shepherd Kings" is mentioned. He may think of them as an invading people who came into the Delta and seized the power from the ruling king and loudly applauded themselves as the victors and ruling sovereigns of the land, and giving little or no thought to the lands of Palestine or Syria as being affected by these people.

It goes without arguing that Egypt felt the authority of these invaders more than the other lands. Egypt was and had been through the centuries, a peaceful nation. It had not been accustomed to being ruled by one race of people for a few centuries only to be over-thrown again by a more powerful race. Egypt was a nation and had been ruled by its own people through the centuries.

Palestine and Syria were quite different. To begin with, they were not a nation of one people. At the time of the beginning of this unsettledness in the east, they were under foreign rule. Every change in power in Babylonia meant also a change for them. Whether ruled by people of their own race or by foreigners, the seat of power was far from home. As they fell victim to the changing powers of the east, so they fell into the path of almost every migration of people which took place on the Mediterranean coast.

Throughout the foregoing chapters we have noted the various changes which took place during the Hyksos period. We have seen how, at about the beginning of the second millenium B.C., the shift of settlements took place; how many old settlements were deserted and others ruined; and that many new cities were founded, presumably by the Hyksos migration. We have seen that a new type of fortification or wall was introduced, but one which was not widely accepted; we have seen the introduction of new types of pottery with different designs and decorative motifs; we observed how the lamp developed. a little article which the Hebrew people used throughout their period; the importation of the scarabs from Egypt with its manifold uses as "amulets" and "charms", personal decorations, magic powers for the deceased, and as seals, signets and rings. It has been pointed out how extensively the Hebrews used these signets and rings and the importance which they attached to them. But there remain to be discussed a few other importations which were introduced to the lands of Egypt, Palestine and Syria during this period.

It is said by some scholars that the Hyksos invaders probably owed much of their quick success to the horse and chariot and the long brass-pointed scimitar and the short dagger.

It is hard to imagine that Egypt, a land which was in contact with most of the known world through trade, had never seen or heard of the horse and chariot. But it is evident from the total lack of any representations of them in tombs or elsewhere, that they had not employed them. The horse and chariot were a

new and dangerous war machine to the Delta Inhabitants. And the Hyksos who came with the speed of the horse may easily have killed the Egyptians with fear to the extent that they refused to charge. This of course we do not know. But we do know that the Hyksos brought the horse and chariot into Egypt; that the Egyptian smiths were not slow to grasp the trick of making the cart; and that the kings were quick to see the great advantages of the strange steed.

It is possible that the Hyksos kings had equally as much influence on the lands of Syria and Palestine as they did on Egypt proper. It is commonly believed that they ruled these lands as well as Egypt, the seat of their authority. We have noted how some of the ware, like pottery, scarabs, and seals found their way from Egypt and other lands into Palestine. But we may now further ask the question: "What were the conditions in the Coast Lands during this period?" Egypt, as we have seen in the last chapter, did apparently not pass through a period of depression and poverty. Lower Egypt indeed fell into a terrible period of depression toward the close of the XIIIth Dynasty. What the change was, if any, in that part of the Valley is not known. We do know, however, that Upper Egypt enjoyed a certain amount of prosperity. According to a record, their cattle were permitted to feed in the Delta without being molested, and the people had sufficient bread to eat. In general, it may be said, they must have enjoyed some prosperity because they were able to reorganize the nation and gather enough men for an army to over-

power the rulers. They were even able to pursue them into the Coast Land and seize the stronghold; then to return home and subdue the rebelling Nubians.

Palestine and Syria had been brought under Egyptian rule by Thutmosis I. His authority, however, soon vanished and the two vassal lands found themselves divided into many little petty states. The kings of these states, in a joint effort, found the leadership of Thutmosis III too strong to combat. They submitted to his control and the many small kingdoms became so thoroughly amalgamated with Egypt that for almost a century they remained an integral part of it. In fact, it was not until the period of the writing of the Tell el-Amarna letters that the individual states again make their appearance. But during the period of Egyptian domination the cities of Palestine entered into commerce with Cyprus, which brought the yellow earthen-ware and its particular type of dagger into the land.

One may go on almost indefinitely cataloguing the foreign articles which make their appearance in the land during the period of the Shepherd kings and the period immediately following. It would also be interesting to conjecture the influence these foreign articles had on the standards of living and the religious beliefs. But one question remains in our minds: "What was the relation of the Hyksos to the Hebrew people?" Or, "Is there any relation?"

It was stated in the preface that we would not attempt to

discuss this matter, and to be sure we will not undertake to offer a solution. But to close the thesis without a word about the possibility of a relationship would, in my opinion, be inept.

Josephus, as we know, tried to identify the Expulsion of the Hyksos with the Exodus. There is indeed something to be said for his position, but in the final analysis his conclusions do not appear to be in harmony with the Egyptian historical records.

We must recall that among the Hyksos people were Semites. Among the list of Hyksos kings we find the name of the Hebrew patriarch Jacob and his son Joseph. Our Biblical records inform us that Joseph was taken into Egypt as a slave. Because of his unusual ability he obtained the same position as the Pharaoh, save wearing the Crown of Gold. Jacob migrated to the Delta and was granted the best grazing lands of the valley for his dwelling. Could it be possible that this same Joseph who was sold into slavery by his brothers became one of the Hyksos kings? If we remember that the Egyptian kings were not completely destroyed and exterminated, but that probably only their authority was snatched from them we are in a position to understand why the Pharaoh gave to Joseph all power save the Crown, and why the great privileges were extended to the Semitic migration under the leadership of Jacob. It remains, by all means possible that our Biblical records of the Exodus recall the expulsion of the Hyksos.

End of

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